105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

593 The family is a very important entity among the Isneg, and their family life is comparatively intense. There is no question of man and wife associating only for the duties incident to the procreation of children. All members of the household keep rather close together until the young people are able to form a new family, and even in this case the latter usually remain with their elders for a considerable period of their married life. To establish a family, if possible with plenty of children around, is the ultimate goal of every Isneg boy and [671] girl. In principle the rights of the individual are subordinate to those of the family, while state paternalism cannot be thought of.

• 177 593 It is true that actually the Government often interferes with the native customs of the Isneg, and in many cases it could not very well do otherwise, but the latter consider it as alien and regard its ways as entirely contrary to their traditions; they would most certainly like to get rid of it at the first opportunity. The Isneg submit of course, as the constabulary is supposed to be mostly wide awake, but they generally do so very reluctantly and often under protest; occasionally they even disobey, and sometimes not without reason, especially in cases of interference with their traditional family life.

177 871 582 593 Just to give a couple of examples. The local authorities force the parents to send their children to school; anybody who disregards this rule is punished by being obliged to furnish free labor to the Government. Now the wisdom of this regulation cannot always reasonably be doubted, because, if no strict measures were taken, nobody would go to school. But even children of marriageable age very often fall under this rule, as Apayaw is sparsely populated and the officials are anxious to present decent reports to their superiors; and so Isneg parents who allow their children to marry, face a very disagreeable dilemma: they have either to continue to send to school, in this way breaking up the home as they understand it, or to disobey and be liable to be taken into custody by policemen. It should be noted here that the law of the land recognizes such marriages as valid, but local officials sometimes have little regard for them. By this [797] time, however, the Isneg have found a way out, namely by becoming Christians and contracting marriage before the priest. Such marriages are always duly recorded of course, and so the young people escape forced attendance at school, and the parents avoid trouble with the Government. After all it is the Church that helps the Isneg to keep to his original traditions about the essentials of marriage and home life.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

42. Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

181 supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs
771 to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the
789 future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no
152 winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not
777 particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

753 An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been
181 decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medi-
777 cines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescrip-
152 tions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all
771 precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

777 If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself
181 to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible
152 omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should
731 he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle
• 177 eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way; and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

777 Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I
181 remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting
152 an Ifugao Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him
771 the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him
177 as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his
781 only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

[72]

42. Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA1
Isneg

that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Ilokano or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ciamandá*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *âma-dá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

553 whoever be the person who suggested it. It is very clear though that the relatives, especially the old women, the more so if a shaman is among the latter, have a deciding vote in the matter, and that, in case of disagreement, an Isneg shaman or other old woman decides the question. But such occurrences must be rare, as the Isneg do not mind so much by what name their children are called provided [856] they have one at the earliest opportunity. The parents, however, usually refrain from giving their child its name, as they believe that in such a case the baby would not grow up or at least would grow very slowly.

553 When baptizing an Isneg baby, we always give him some Christian name of course, and I know of very few cases in which I myself was 177 not called upon to choose the name in question. Sometimes I had to 551 suggest several names, as some of them did not prove acceptable, but 795 for this there was usually no other reason than that they were too hard for the Isneg either to pronounce or to remember. This new name is generally faithfully adhered to, although the original Isneg name is rarely forgotten and sometimes even remains preponderant; indeed a name is something much too important not to be taken into consideration. Actually many Isneg babies get a Christian name as their proper name from the outset, and so all difficulties and equivocations are eliminated at once.

That this indifference exists not only with reference to the name of a child that has to be baptized, but even with reference to the first name of any newborn babe, is evident from the fact that Christian Iloko or Kagayan school teachers are often called upon to suggest a name for the little one. So, at Ampaw for instance, which is a small agglomeration not so far from Nagbabalayan, we find a little boy called *Mabíni*, a name proposed by the teacher of the last-mentioned place at the suggestion of the father; now, even without knowing the person who gave the name, it is patent that such a name could not have been given by Isneg, as it is the family name of Mr. Apolinario Mabini, a Filipino hero of revolutionary war fame, of whom our Isneg know nothing at all. To complete the matter, I called the boy Apolinario at baptism.

551 It may be seen even from the above that any name will do. Nevertheless the Isneg also have their preference, and this especially in regard to three classes of names:

1. Names that have become traditional among the Isneg, "old names" as they call them. For instance *Súzây*, which has no known

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

551 *Xídam* (F): evening
104 *Múmaw* (F): a kind of herb used in magical practices.
192 *Pariyá* (F): a vine of the squash family with edible fruits, Momordica ovata. Cogn.

551 For the rest any name will do, provided it pleases everybody concerned. This was repeatedly told me all over Apayaw, although the preferences referred to above, either all three or only one or two of them, were usually mentioned, and occasionally the question of some circumstance connected with the time or place of birth.

551 Actually one finds more and more Isneg youngsters who bear a
177 Christian name, not only the one given them at baptism or in school, but the original name given at birth. So at Nagsimbanan and at Magapta we find a *Delfín* (M); at Musimut, *Xosé* (José) (M); at Baliwanan, *Kolás* (Nicolás) (M); at Nagilian (Namaltugan), *Román* (M); at Butaw, *Siyón* (Concepción) (M); at Bayag, *Donáta* (F); at Bayag, *Faustína* (F); at Musimut, *Leónsiya* (Leoncia) (F); at Lako, *Máriya* (María) (F); at Musimut, *Méri* (Mary) (F); at Kabugaw, *Néli* (Nellie) (F); at Abbil, *Rufína* (F); at Bayag, *Simóna* (F); at Nagsimbanan, *Verón* (Verónica) (F).

Such names occur even among those of older people; in this case they were probably brought in from the lowlands, from the Christian provinces, whither the Isneg frequently went either on headhunting expeditions or with the purpose of bartering their wares for clothes and so on. Thus at Musimut there is a *Sáriyo* (Cesario) (M); at Genned, an *Isabél* (F). At Lettuakan there was a man, now dead, called *Antón* (Antonio), the father of a young man called *Asiyo* (Nicasio, Engracio, or some other name with a similar ending). Another *Antón* still lives at Bolo.

[554] Some Isneg names are nothing but the family name or the title of public servants.

551 Family names:

Bawánen (M), at Bayag: after Mr. Bawanen, a sanitary inspector.
Bunnáw (M), at Karagawan: a soldier.
Dison (M), at Mayaw: after Lt. Dizon of the Constabulary.
Dukúsen (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Ducusin, a former lieutenant-governor.
Galiyárdo (M), at Maduang: after Mr. Gallardo, a teacher.
Gársiya (M), at Lukab: after Lt. Garcia of the Constabulary.
Xárma (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Garma, a teacher.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

with the affairs of the living. Now in this case the Isneg deem it very probable that the dead parent will continue to be fond of his child, and perhaps try to approach it and fondle it, as he was wont to do before his death; but this must inevitably be exceedingly detrimental to the well-being of the little one, so the best way to prevent all such dangerous trifling is to change the name of the infant in question, in order to force the soul of the dead parent to forget all about his offspring. He will be looking for the babe under its old name, but here the living will have got the better of him: the new name, the new personality of the little one, will completely baffle the all-too-fond parent, and the living will be rid of the annoying interference of the dead. *Séno maligpandn náyá kaduduwána ya ńázan náyá abubbíń*, "So that his soul forget the name of the child": this was the reason for the custom given me by the Isneg themselves. What would be the use of making the dead forget the name of the child if "name" was not more or less synonymous with "personality"?

551 768

Formerly a stranger travelling in Apayaw must forcibly have been struck by the reluctance of the Isneg to tell his name. I say "formerly", as nowadays the Isneg has been obliged to tell his name on so many different occasions, for instance at school, in the judgment hall, and so on, that this reluctance is fast disappearing. However, it is still to be found in many remote corners, and more especially with grown-up and old men and women: when you ask their name they invariably tell some companion to answer you in their stead. Just exactly what is the reason of this I have not yet been able to ascertain; when questioned about it, the Isneg either deny the custom altogether, if they are not very familiar with you, or else say that they are ignorant of the reason of its existence.

551 177

The same reticence takes place with reference to the names of the dead: this has been touched upon before, and the reason, as explained by the Isneg, has been given at the same time. The prohibition of telling the name of a dead person does not last indefinitely, nor does it equally affect all persons. When some time has elapsed since the death of a certain Isneg whose name you would like to know, your informant will usually say: "*Natdyyin* (he is dead already)", with a look of wonder on his face, as if to say: "What is the use of wanting to know his name, he is dead already, he has lost his name together with his life"; but if you insist, he will give it seemingly without difficulty. So also unrelated persons are much less reluctant than near relatives, when there is question of telling the name of the dead. Be-

551 769

42: Vanoverbergh 5-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

peoples, who have regular initiation ceremonies or puberty rites or both: in his case these are entirely absent, and so his offspring lacks a very important factor in the education of the young, as all formal instruction that usually accompanies such rites and ceremonies is entirely denied him. Nevertheless there is some kind of education given to Isneg youth, and this I am going to consider presently.

At the beginning it should be noted once for all that the Isneg is not used to divide his life into very definite periods. Possessing no puberty rites of any kind, he is ignorant of any violent transition between any two periods of his earthly existence, and so an Isneg child grows up into a young man (*bagbaxó*, plural *babbáxo*) or a young girl (*balbalásań*, plural *babbalásań*), marries at the first opportunity, is occasionally widowed (*bálo*, *búkud*) and perhaps remarries, and finally dies, whether comparatively young or after having reached a ripe old age (old man: *la-lakáy*, plural *lala-lákay*; old woman: *ba-bakát*, plural *baba-bákat*). If one would insist on looking for a kind of classification, perhaps the best way would be to divide the life of an ordinary Isneg into three periods: the first one, from his birth till he has attained the age at which any decent boy begins to wear a G-string, a little before the age of reason; the second, from the time of that important change in his dress till his marriage; and the last one, from his first marriage till his death. Here I shall consider only the first two periods, and I shall treat them both simultaneously and indistinctively. That some details refer exclusively to one of these two periods will be clear without the necessity of saying so: an Isneg evidently does not teach one of his marriageable girls the name of the mosquito, nor does he point out to a boy three years old the penalties which he is likely to incur if he renders a girl pregnant and refuses to marry her.

Formal education as we understand it, whether in schools or otherwise, through appointed teachers, is totally unknown to the Isneg, except of course instruction in Government public schools, which all Isneg children are compelled to attend; but the generality of the people are not the least convinced of the benefits, and much less of the necessity, of the sort of education they get there, especially with reference to girls.

I shall try now to trace as faithfully and as clearly as possible the process of education as followed by the Isneg, or, if such an expression seems to be too definite, the way in which Isneg boys and girls get the education they need.

42: Vanoverbergh F-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OAT Philippines
Apayao CA5
Isneg

question and bring the water home, when without such trouble, the same, and even a much better, result can be obtained by using the water where it is found

The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they occasionally tell their offspring to do the same.

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw.

Isneg women sweep the house, not only daily, but whenever there is a reason for doing so, and they clean the yard very often. Small girls are regularly told to help their mother or their elder sisters, and sometimes to do the sweeping in their stead, so that they also may learn how to perform the duties of a good housewife.

Let us now pass to the noble sport of *bisnág*. *Bisnág* is very popular all over the northern part of the Mountain Province, while Ibaloy and Kankanay seem not even to know it. Among the Isneg, not only boys and young men, but also men of mature age, frequently indulge in it; nay, at stated times, adults take part in it as in a kind of religious rite or ceremony; but more of this later. Isneg youngsters usually practice *bisnág* in imitation of their elders, merely as a kind of play, whenever it takes their fancy to do so. Although this sport is not formally taught, older people often urge boys to take part in it, and they rarely fail to break out into vociferous applause, whenever one of the young braves has performed his part befittingly, in this way encouraging the whole group to do better and better.

Bisnág certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisnág* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the agent for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

577 771 portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a freethinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise, he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

577 177 771 The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters religious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

577 829 721 "Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg, you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of participating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Iloko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *mánal*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

101 192 104 [2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano* whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *sây-ám* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

factor should never remain unpunished, even though he be of your own kindred; although in the latter case the sacking of his house and properties will usually be sufficient, without having to resort to bloodshed; and then also there will necessarily be no solidarity, except perhaps in the case of his near relatives. An Isneg who allows an injury to pass unpunished has not the blood of the *méial* (brave) flowing in his veins. Actually of course we cannot always take the law in our own hands, and so we have to resort to the tribunal of the Ibanag. Now you should never fail to do so, whenever there are no other means available for revenging yourself with impunity".

A couple of years ago, an Isneg from Tawit, whose father was supposed to have been killed at Ripang years ago, murdered a Ripang woman at Kabugaw, under the eyes of the constabulary, on the occasion of a garden day celebration. The murder occurred in the evening, when the woman,—who even then was still too young to have had any knowledge of the murder of the Tawit man's father except perhaps from hearsay, and who consequently could not have had the least participation in it,—was sitting as a guest in the house of one of her people, a policeman, who at the time resided at Kabugaw. She was leaning with her back against the wall of the house, when the Tawit man, who stood outside in the dark, pushed a sharpened bamboo rod through the interstices and pierced the woman's side, with the inevitable result that the victim died after a few hours.

Not so long ago our friend *Kadáw* of Lettuakan, who had been badly injured by *Kinagúrān* of Talifugu in the heroic times now seemingly gone forever, one of his hands having been almost totally disabled, came to pay me a visit. He had a few eatables for sale and wanted to get a comparatively large share of the white man's money. At a certain moment our conversation ran in the following vein:

I: *Kinagúrān* is your friend, is he not?

Kadáw: Yes, indeed, we are good friends now.

I: But suppose the soldiers would leave the district.

I had barely finished my sentence when the old headhunter sprang up, his face beaming, his eyes radiant with a fiendish joy, and, swinging his arms, his hands fingering invisible weapons, he exclaimed: "Oh, then you would see some fighting indeed".

"Never pick a quarrel with a friend: such things should be avoided; but in case of somebody wanting to quarrel with you, go ahead. Nobody will keep his peace if he thinks he is right. Would it not be utter cowardice to keep quiet and let the thing go by? No, shut the

42:Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

577 particular, although it would certainly be utterly immodest for any
834 grown-up woman purposelessly to take off her tapis completely, even
291 though seen only from behind; and going around half-naked is not to be recommended, even to a married woman, when in the presence of outsiders."

In 1927, while on my way to Karagawan, I followed the course of the river which I had to cross at every turn; so my Isneg carrier took off his G-string at the first crossing and did not put it on again, except on a certain occasion, when we were approaching a house. "Wait a moment", he said, "I shall put on my G-string, as who knows but there may be some women at home there espying me".

At the teachers' house I had a talk with the mother of one of the Iloko teachers, and, in the course of the conversation, she related to me how astonished the Isneg women of that place had been, when she had told them that she wore no G-string. "But suppose your saya came off, would not your genitalia be exposed to view?" they had exclaimed, with horror painted all over their faces. The Isneg have a special qualifying term for an Isneg woman who wears no G-string: she is called *paññáw*.

577 Several years ago, there came an order, I believe from the Bureau
834 of Education, that all school children should pass a physical examin-
291 ation before the physician of the district; but very soon the order had
● 177 to be revoked, as otherwise it was feared that an uprising would occur among our Mountain people. The Isneg in particular could find no plausible reason for any man causing a girl to take off her garments in his presence.

836 "All Isneg boys should be careful not to render a girl pregnant:
577 this is one of the delinquencies that are abhorred more than anything
684 else among the Isneg. You may be inclined to sow your wild oats; that is but natural, but here you have to look out. You should never under any pretext impregnate a girl whom you could not marry afterwards, and even though you could make her your wife, it would still be a dangerous thing to do; suppose some obstacle comes in the way, you know the consequences; you know very well that the relatives of the offended girl will get the *awát*: they will raid your house and carry away your precious jars, your beads and all that is valuable. There is no mercy for a boy who has committed a crime like that; so do not be rash: fornication is a dangerous thing. When you go to court the girls (*mamabáy*) in the evening, use love charms and try to win the girl you love; to force her against

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao CA5
Isneg

836
684

tunate if it stopped at that, as the whole affair usually became a *casus belli*.

This whole state of affairs tends very much to make one believe that solitary vice is considered as lawful and not at all forbidden to young men. One day while listening to a conversation among Isneg boys, I heard them talk about flashlights, which at the time had a very great vogue and were very much sought after. The youngsters in question wanted such a light in order to find their way when going to have sexual intercourse with girls in the evening: this was literally what they said. But would they really dare do it so often as they seemed to imply? In many cases would it not be rather to indulge themselves in company with the girls, without always taking the risk of making them pregnant?

177
833

On a similar occasion I saw a young man stretch himself out upon a heap of sand and mimick the conjugal act in the presence of several other young men who merely smiled at his behavior.

834

Would it be possible for young men to live chastely on such a principle namely, that the only crime in that line is making a girl pregnant? And this seems to be the Isneg view about the matter. With girls, I repeat it, the code is much stricter: they are allowed nothing. They should conserve their body pure and undefiled, even from the mere contact of young men. It is true that the only punishment, in case of pregnancy, would be a severe scolding, but their conduct is censured whenever something untoward happens, and besides the ultimate result, that of being rejected as a prospective bride by any decent young man, must certainly serve as a powerful deterrent.

577
421
685

"Honesty is an imperative virtue for every Isneg. 'Stealing should be loathed by all right-minded people. Never touch the property of others, do not take what does not belong to you. Why should you covet your neighbor's goods? Did you work in order to obtain them? Would you like others to rob you of the fruit of your labor? Another man's property should always be safe in your hands. Never allow anybody to suspect you of being dishonest; a thief is branded with an indelible mark that will make people distrust him at his mere approach. Never destroy the property of your neighbor; you have no right to do so: revenge would quickly follow your rash deed. If you find something that does not belong to you, give it back to the owner, it is still his, unless of course you know positively that it has been abandoned. Should the owner find his lost goods hidden in your

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

577 possession, he will rightfully suppose you to be a thief. Anything
421 that can be found in the forest is the property of the first man who
685 can lay hands upon it: so if you locate bees on a tree and see that the latter has been marked, leave them, they are not yours to take any more, the person who marked the tree will sooner or later come to claim
577 his property. Pay your debts faithfully, never forget about them.
426 The heirs of a deceased person inherit his debts as well as his prop-
686 erty, and the creditor will appear some day to ask payment from their hands. In case of a raid upon the house of a culprit,—for instance, when a girl has been made pregnant, or when a married woman has returned to her parents whether against the will of her husband or because the latter rightfully divorced her for adultery, etc., and her parents refuse to give back to the offended husband what he gave them at the time of his marriage, or when somebody has been killed among people who are on friendly terms with one another,—then of course, if you are a relative of the offended party, you are free to rob the house of all its valuables: this is not stealing, it is simple justice.

577 "You should not be so strict, however, with reference to the Ibanag:
609 almost anything is allowed when you deal with them. Plain stealing
421 of course should be avoided, but for the rest it would be hard to qualify anything by the name of injustice, when the Ibanag are in ques-
426 tion. Here, nevertheless, you should make a distinction: you may
437 have good friends among them or they may be your guests, and then of course strictly respect them and keep away from their property.
686 But, deceit in transactions, escaping the payment of a debt, and so
685 on, which would be downright dishonesty if done among ourselves, are just a sign of cleverness on your part, when the Ibanag are concerned. A good Isneg is strictly just with all his friends, with all the people of every village at peace with his own; enemies have no rights in the eyes of an Isneg, and the rights of the Ibanag are far from having the same sacredness as those of your own people".

685 Two years ago a Tubungan (near Abbil) man had been robbed of
628 a few of his valuables, while he was away on a trading expedition into Ilocos. After much investigating and lying in wait near the
[694] house of the suspected thief, the owner had become convinced of the latter's guilt, and immediately brought in a complaint, as the ac-
177 cused denied any participation in the theft. I met the plaintiff and his father, on their way to Kabugaw, in the municipal building of Namaltugan. Talking about the matter, I asked them what would

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

have happened in the glorious times before the arrival of the soldiery. They quickly retorted that it would have been a case of killing the thief without more ado, from which of course an interminable series of blood feuds would have ensued. I then asked them what they thought the best way to settle such differences, the old or the new one. Both agreed that the actual way of deciding the matter was far superior to the other one. Then, I said this, seemingly as an afterthought: "But among us, to tell the truth, the old days were happy ones, weren't they?" "Of course they were", both exclaimed at once, "see how things would have been done formerly", and both of them picked up a shield and a headax, and started a mock fight. They were so enthusiastic about it that we, the onlookers, had to make room for our two warriors, in order to escape getting a cut from the axes they were brandishing; the old Isneg spirit was seen to have been revived at once; and this was merely for show, there was nothing serious about it of course.

"Truthfulness is a virtue that an Isneg should never lack. You will never amount to anything if you are known as a liar; people will always distrust you. Is there anything more shameful than being known as a man whose word can never be relied upon? Especially when talking about a third person, beware of being a slanderer: this would lead to quarrels, and quarrels would lead to blows or worse, and you would be in the wrong all the time. A little lie in order to make mirth and bring joy to the company, never mind; but be careful to truthfully inform anybody who might take the thing seriously, lest harmful consequences follow. It is perfectly right of course to save yourself or your friend from a bad predicament, even through lying, if that is the surest way; but for the rest cling to truth, and you will be respected all your life. You know very well how much you would resent being told to your face: "*Busídmo* (you lie)"; so never give anybody an occasion to throw such an insult at your head. With your enemies of course, and especially with the Ibanag, it is different, you may do anything to them; and they know very well that they cannot rely upon you. Why should you have any duties toward these people? They have no rights among us, not even that of being told the truth. A friendly Ibanag may be helped, no doubt about that, but then it will be done, not because you are obliged to tell him the truth, but because you want to be faithful to a friend. Do not mislead a wayfarer though, except in case you have the intention of securing his head or taking some

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

Not only the absence of initiation ceremonies, but even that of any customs that might aim to teach or mold moral conduct, as dieting, fasting and so on, is a great drawback to the efficient training of Isneg youth. I repeat it, young people are taught to avoid hardship much more than to get inured to it, and this seemingly has much to do with keeping our Isneg in habitual indolence, and rendering them easily dejected at the smallest difficulty or the slightest pain.

Here now I shall enumerate the virtues and acts of virtue that are formally taught according to the Isneg moral code, and those that are less formally taught, and shall give a few supplementary details. It should be stated once for all that all, or almost all, training in this line is done directly; I mean that the Isneg rarely, if ever, use stories or fables in order to inculcate the principles that regulate moral conduct. Some of their tales might perhaps have such a very desirable effect, but the generality have not, and I really wonder if, even in the case of those that have a kind of moral attached to them, the Isneg really use them for the purpose of teaching right behavior. The tales seem to be much more a means of teaching the youngsters the traditions of the race, especially with reference to spirits and kindred subjects, and very often also they are simply a pastime for people who have few means of diversion and amusement.

The teaching of religious practices has been explained at length in a preceding paragraph, and here I have nothing to add on that subject. Headhunting as a duty has rarely been taught ex professo: all the traditions of the people and the paramount importance of this custom in the life of an Isneg tended formerly to impress it very strongly upon the mind of the child. Actually of course the taking of heads, which is fast disappearing, has no more the same appeal to the members of the younger generation; so this part of the Isneg moral code is bound to lapse sooner or later, provided the Government can keep the people in control for a sufficiently long period of time. This is what happened with the Ibaloy, among whom by this time headhunting is an unknown quantity, and with the Kankanay, among whom the same custom is almost completely rooted out.

Obedience and respect for their elders is very formally taught to the children, not only by father and mother, but also by other members of the older generation. Besides small boys and girls learn by practical experience the necessity of obeying and respecting their elders, as it is not a rare occurrence to see a whipping follow in the wake of a transgression of this most important duty of a child.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

4. *Actual Moral Behavior*

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religious than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saûran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apayaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Iloko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages, and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christianity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their traditional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything, except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabóy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught [illegible] something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

512
264
177
751

cock, in order to prepare breakfast, which early preparation is called *magsira*.

Actually children who attend school continue to follow the general Isneg rule, and leave home early in the morning, before having taken any breakfast. As they have to wait until noon before partaking of their first meal, it is needless to say that such conditions will hardly improve the health of the next generation.

805

Divisions of day and night as known to the Isneg:

Mawarnit: Immediately before sunrise.

Pagmakát: Morning, from sunrise till about ten o'clock a. m.

Alxáw: Day.

Xídam: Evening, from about five o'clock p. m. till darkness sets in.

Xabí: Night.

48: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

must have intervened. With reference to the former class of ailments, some of them never cause death, except if they are coupled with further complications, while in the rest the symptoms (as passing of blood in dysentery, general swelling of the body in beriberi) are considered as the visible effect of the work initiated by a spirit inside the body.

In the same way, whenever some dangerous sickness fails to prove fatal and is overcome either by the strong constitution of the patient, or by some medicine, the Isneg attribute the cure, not to its real cause, but to the superior force of some spirit in league with the shaman, or to magic, all of which has subdued for the time being or completely driven away the terrible kidney-eater, who on that account has been unable to finish the work he began.

After what has been said here, it should not be wondered at that doctors and nurses have a very difficult time with these people, who have little or no faith in their ministrations and consider medicines as either operating through magic (in case of a cure) or entirely useless. Most of the time, however, medicines are given no credit at all, and the cure is merely attributed to the work of the shaman, whose help is always invoked, even in those rare cases in which recourse has been had to natural means.

Suicide (*magbanól*, "to commit suicide") must be listed in the second class: its victims are supposed to die through the action of a kidney-hunter. Suicide, however, by hanging oneself (*magpattól*) or otherwise, not by jumping into the water (*malimát*, "to be drowned"), is rare among the Isneg. I know of only one case in recent times: a few years ago a person hanged himself at Utul, but I have not been able to discover the reason. Drowning oneself would certainly be shunned by Isneg, on account of the probability of the *innát* being lost and deprived of its necessary preparation for the acceptance of the *kadudúwá* by *Kútaw*. It is universally believed by the natives that the relatives of a person who died by drowning, whether voluntary or accidental, will continually dream about him at night; this seems to be a kind of revenge on the part of the deceased, probably out of spite for encountering so many difficulties on his way to the other world. That is one of the reasons why the Isneg so sedulously try to find the body of a drowned person even for weeks at a time; if the body is recovered and buried, no such dreams affect the relatives of the deceased.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

764 tion of the same, whenever a *labág* bird passes under (*magsilpút*)
178 the building: indeed, they believe that, if they continued to build
787 the house on that particular spot, one or more of the inmates would certainly die.

764 Nowadays the authorities insist on burial in common graveyards,
set aside for the purpose and situated outside and away from the
177 settlement. Although this ordinance is still occasionally evaded, it becomes harder and harder to do so, on account of the presence of sanitary inspectors in every municipal district; and so the Isneg have gradually accommodated themselves to circumstances, as will be explained more fully when treating of the decoration of the tomb.

764 At the time set for the funeral, in the evening, the coffin (or lower part of a jar) containing its precious burden, is carried to the grave (*itamán;* sometimes pronounced *itanám;* in Iloko: *itaném*). If the body has to be coffined at the grave, it is carried on the *tádag* or bier. Actually, when the body is interred in the graveyard, the funeral takes place in the daytime, and any time of the day will do.

Before and after the body is laid or set to rest, a good many rites and ceremonies take place, and these I shall try to describe with as much order and accuracy as possible.

The position of the body in the tomb is the same as that of the *inndt* in the house, at the time it was coffined: if the latter was stretched out at full length or otherwise laid on its back, the body in the grave will rest supine; if the *inndt* was kept in a sitting or squatting posture, the corpse will be placed that way in the grave, its head remaining uppermost.

And now as to the *tanád* or objects that are interred together with the body, and which are believed to be used by the *kadudwd* of the deceased in the realm of the dead. Some of them are always present, others only occasionally.

The following objects are never lacking:

A *tariyáw* (a piece of earthenware, plate or cup), containing a certain amount of cooked rice;

Some viands usually wrapped up in one or more leaves;

A receptacle (any kind) containing some water;

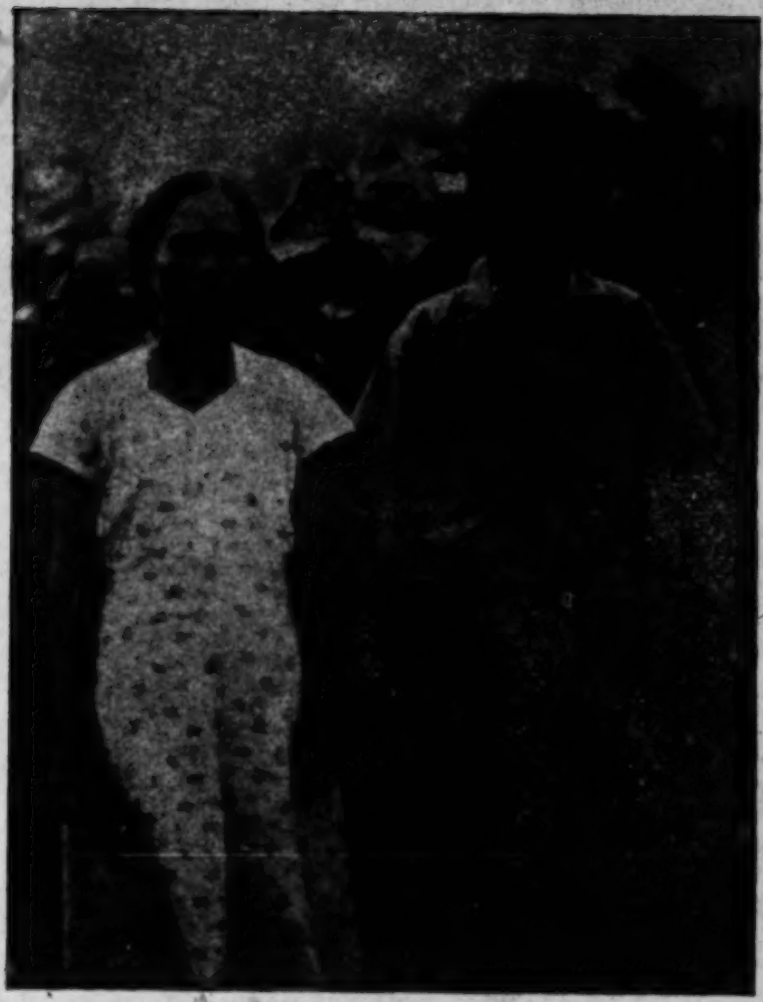
A bundles of clothes;

An *aliwá* or headax, in the case of a man; an *ikó* knife, in the case of a woman;

291
177

Students from the Apayao River, at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

291
177
144



Students from Nabualigan River, at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

291
177

Students from Luna River at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

46: Wilkin F-3 (no date) 1967 OAS Philippines
Apayao OAS

291
177

Students from Bayog River, at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.